

MAGIL DAILY

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La Presse lock-out worsens

A lock-out at *La Presse*, which has now lasted over a month, continues this week. In what effectively amounts to the dismissal of regular union workers, underpaid and non-professional personnel have been hired to fill most of the technical jobs on the newspaper.

The dispute centers on the company's attempt to automate the production of the newspaper. Most of the present technical workers, especially typesetters, face unemployment if automation is carried through.

La Presse, which is owned by the Gelco Society, is part of the Power Corporation conglomerate controlled by French Canadian millionaire Paul Desmarais. Power Corporation subsidiaries have had a consistent record of repressive labor relations. In a labor dispute involving Provincial Transport Corporation, Desmarais engineered the split of the company which resulted in a crippling split in the union.

But so far the militancy of the workers is purposely subdued. M. Pierre Perron, Vice-President of the typographers' union, explains: "The hopes of management must certainly have been shattered in the absence of picket lines and violence from the locked-out employees. This has doubtless reversed their plans. In solidarity with their fellows, the union members in editorial and other services would have assuredly refused to cross picket lines, thus giving management the opportunity, by way of injunction, to get rid of many journalists who oppose censorship of information in the largest French daily in North America. *La Presse* would have been free, in that case, to reorganize as they want, that is, by the hiring of cheap, non-union labor. We have wanted to avoid falling into this trap."

In what *La Presse* calls a policy of "mobility" and "non-departmentalization", workers are being asked to learn several

trades ostensibly to stave off unemployment as a result of automation. For the workers, "mobility" amounts to the loss of job security since union jurisdictions would become less clear due to changing job classifications.

Support for the locked-out *La Presse* employees has been considerable. The Teachers' Corporation of Quebec, the Fraternity of Montreal Police-men, the Parti Quebecois and five other organizations have joined the FTQ and CSN in condemning the lock-out.

La Presse plans to continue publishing over the protests of these groups. So far they have been producing one daily morning edition instead of the former three a day. A series of measures have been instituted by the newspaper since the lock-out began. These include:

- every employee still working at *La Presse* since the beginning of the lock-outs, on July 19, has been issued a second ID card, which they must show a security guard when entering and leaving the building;

- the number of security guards, some armed, has been significantly increased, both inside and outside the building;

- the workshops of the 350 locked-out workers are guarded night and day;

- ten television cameras have been installed throughout the building at strategic locations, inside and outside;

- the only entrance is guarded and the door is controlled electronically by a security agent;

- the hiring of a fleet of Diamond taxicabs, to survey the distribution of the papers and to guard the scabs on their way to and from work.

Castonguay yields to GMAPCC demands

by john crenson

An occupation of the Rue St-Denis welfare centre by the Greater Montreal Anti-Poverty Co-ordinating Committee (GMAPCC) ended yesterday after Social Affairs Minister, Claude Castonguay, accepted the group's demand that he meet them September 28.

The sit-in which began September 13, was called by GMAPCC to protest the inade-

quacy of present welfare rates and allowances.

About sixty-five persons occupied the regional welfare office on St-Denis promising to leave "only after definite word from Quebec City" came to confirm a September 28 meeting.

The GMAPCC presented a list of "non-negotiable" demands, detailing the unfair treatment of welfare recipients under the current legislation and calling for reforms to correct these injustices.

GMAPCC spokeswoman Jo Edwards, pointed out that present welfare practices discriminate against the welfare recipient.

"Government studies show that our children are being slowly killed by malnutrition. Every day our own emergency services run by poor people must feed hungry people left starving by the government."

"When these people are taken for emergency assistance they are given a mere \$15.00 which is subtracted from their next month's welfare allowance. This gives them less money to live on next month."

According to Bill 26 (the Social Aid Act), families or individuals will be given aid "on the basis of the deficit which exists between needs and income available." But this is not being implemented by the government in practice.

The present welfare rate under Bill 26 for a family of four is \$123 per month. According to Montreal Diet Dispensary figures, the minimum monthly requirement "for the maintenance of the family as a unit and the preservation of the health and self-respect of its individual members" is \$148.30.

Quebec's rate is 21% below this figure. GMAPCC is asking for a 30% increase which would raise the monthly minimum to \$159.00.

Single "employable" individuals also suffer under the present welfare system. The total assistance given to unemployed individuals without families comes to a mere \$75 per month.

GMAPCC demanded an im-

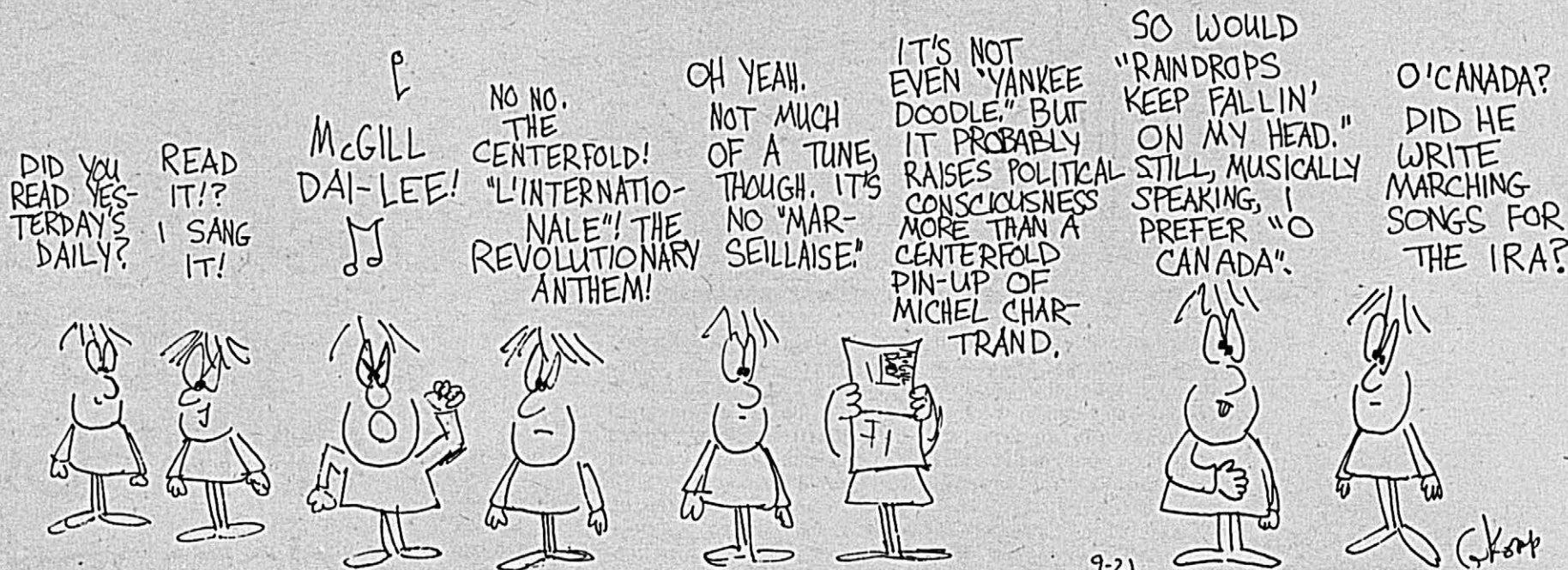


SIT-IN ENDS at St-Denis welfare centre as GMAPCC members read telegram from Castonguay, giving in to their demands.

daily photo by harold rosenberg

Continued on page 2

LEAN AND HUNGRY/BY GEORGE KOPP



GMAPCC . . .

Continued from page 1

mediate reply from Castonguay's office to two of the demands: that emergency assistance given to welfare recipients not be deducted from future checks, and that the Minister set a date to meet with GMAPCC representatives.

The minister had agreed to meet the group but gave no

definite confirmation of the date. He had also rejected the group's other demand.

The protesters said that they would only leave the Rue St-Denis office when a confirmation was received.

Finally, at about 1:30 pm yesterday, the occupiers received a telegram from the Social Affairs Minister's office confirming the September 28 meeting.

Meanwhile, the GMAPCC has been using guerrilla tactics to make its point. In Westmount and NDG members donned white sheets and Stars of David, and entered various synagogues during the Jewish High Holidays.

During the High Holidays, synagogue seats are sold at about \$40 a seat. The demonstrators said they wanted to emphasize the point that some people on welfare were not able to attend synagogue services because of a lack of funds.

Professional people who support GMAPCC are also going on rotating hunger strikes until the group's demands are acceded to by the Social Affairs Ministry. Two McGill social work professors are participating in the hunger strikes.

Castonguay and five cabinet ministers will meet with GMAPCC representatives in his office at 10:00 am September 28. The press has not been invited.

BLITZ DAY TUESDAY SEPT. 21

Today McGill students are asked to pick up a bucket and collect on campus for **DROP IN THE BUCKET**. All proceeds go to educate less fortunate kids of the third world. Buckets available in the lobby of the McConnell Eng. Bldg. and in the Union. It's up to you to make it work.

TODAY

M.O.C.: Open meeting. Slides, films, nominations for V.P. Union B26/27 at 7:30.

CHEERLEADERETTES: Practices for cheerleader tryouts. All interested girls welcome. Sir Arthur Currie Gym (foyer). 5 pm.

DROP IN THE BUCKET: Please volunteer to carry a bucket or give to Drop In the Bucket. Pick one up in McConnell Eng. or the Union. Anytime.

COMMUNITY MCGILL: Volunteers who worked at Allan Memorial needed as guides Oct. 1. Apply Union 412 or phone 392-8992.

USED BOOK SALE: Last day of collections. Great values as books go on sale tomorrow. All day.

MCGILL CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP: Prayer meeting each morning. Union 307. 8:30 am. Introduction to M.C.F. '71-'72. John Newton speaking. Union 458. 1:00 pm. Informal reception for freshmen and friends. Union 307. 7:30 pm.

MCGILL SAILING CLUB: Anyone who wishes to sail or race for McGill come. Union B27. 12:30 - 2:00 pm.

STUDENT ART EXHIBIT: Anyone interested in exhibiting his own painting, sculpture, photography or graphics please sign up. Student Council Office Counter. Anytime.

M.S.P.S.: Meeting of all the MSPS executive. Please attend. Hons. Physics Lounge. 1:00 pm.

Mini-Market

These ads may be placed in the advertising office at the University Centre from 10 am to 4 pm. Ads received by noon appear the following day. Rates: 3 consecutive insertions — \$3.00 maximum 20 words. 15 cents per extra word.

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MISCELLANEOUS

M.O.C.: Open meeting September 21, 7:30 PM in Union B26/27. Slides, movies, etc; nominations for new vice president.

PETER: Let's get the band together again now that Ceth's gone. Linda. 844-5497.

C.U.S. Welcome back party Phi Kappa Pi, 3647 University (red door), 8:30 P.M. Friday, Sept. 24, 1971.

C.U.S. WELCOME BACK MIXER, Leacock 8th floor, 12-2 P.M. Friday, Sept. 24/71.

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McGILL DAILY

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FAUT QU'ÇA SORTE

Et allez en paix

Lors de sa dernière réunion, le Conseil National du Parti Québécois vient d'arrêter sa position officielle vis à vis les prochaines élections fédérales. Plusieurs hypothèses ont sans doute été considérées: L'appui à un éventuel Bloc Québécois, au N.P.D., ou l'abstention pure et simple. Qui considérerait encore le PQ comme un mouvement de gauche, de "tendances socialisantes", ayant des velléités de changement radical, aurait été en droit de s'attendre à une prise de position en faveur du N.P.D. Ce dernier n'est-il pas le seul parti fédéral de "gauche" et ne constitue-t-il pas l'interlocuteur le plus valable pour un Québec indépendant?

Bon. Ne nous illusionnons plus sur le caractère gauchisant du Parti Québécois. En fait le P.Q. appose une

étiquette "fédéraliste" sur tous les partis canadiens sans autre distinction. "Nous devons donc," affirme-t-il dans le communiqué de presse, "refuser catégoriquement de nous prêter à des jeux para ou crypto-fédéralistes qui ne serviraient qu'à affaiblir nos chances et à amplifier la confusion. Cela doit exclure absolument toute alliance ouverte ou camouflée avec quelque parti fédéral que ce soit, vieux parti, tiers parti, ou tout groupe qui tenterait l'aventure sans lendemain du "vacuum à combler".

Quant à ce vague "groupe aventurier" dont on nous parle, il s'agit bien sûr du Bloc Québécois. L'appui du P.Q. lui a aussi été catégoriquement refusé—Ce que nous ne regretterons d'ailleurs pas vu le caractère déplorablement "nationaliste" de ce mouvement qui se présente comme un simple moyen de "vaincre le méchant Trudeau" au Québec. En posant comme hypothèse que ni le N.P.D., ni les conservateurs ne peuvent y parvenir et que la question nationale est le seul problème en mesure d'attirer l'attention des Québécois, on envoie donc un parti nationaliste sur la scène fédérale. C'est logique!

Il n'y a pas de meilleur moyen pour empêcher les gens de voir les vrais problèmes que de leur mettre continuellement la "Question Nationale" devant les yeux.

Quant à l'abstentionnisme total, on n'a pas osé le préconiser. D'abord cela aurait été assez mauvais électoralement, donnant une image plutôt fade des positions péquistes. Ensuite, selon le principe "qui ne vote pas, consent", cela aurait voulu dire appuyer le gagnant, soit, fort probablement, le régime libéral.

Une seule solution n'avait pas été envisagée: Ne donner son appui à personne sans préconiser l'abstentionnisme! N'avoir absolument aucune position logique, sauf celle de dire qu'on est "contre", contre le N.P.D., contre les conservateurs, contre le méchant Trudeau, contre le Bloc Québécois, etc.

Voilà donc ce que le P.Q. a trouvé comme meilleure solution à proposer à ses membres et électeurs: Votez pour "les hommes individuellement les meilleurs... dont la personnalité et les gestes promettent la meilleure défense possible des intérêts Québécois". On

revient allègrement à la vieille pratique Québécoise du "vote en fonction de la tête du candidat", à l'aide de critères de "personnalité" et de "valeur individuelle", toujours en faisant abstraction des "étiquettes", c'est à dire des idéologies de parti.

Pourquoi une telle position de la part du P.Q.? Si l'on y regarde de près, son attitude revient finalement à favoriser l'élection du fameux "méchant Trudeau", puisqu'il n'appuie aucun mouvement susceptible de faire la lutte aux libéraux. Dire "votez pour qui vous voulez et allez en paix" signifie que le meilleur gagne et "vive le chef".

Ne nous faisons pas d'illusions, le P.Q. n'a rien de gauchisant, rien de fondamentalement différent du régime fédéral, il sert des intérêts semblables, à l'exception du fait qu'il ne constitue actuellement au Québec qu'une classe dominante et aspire, par l'indépendance, à diriger seul et à son propre compte sa portion de territoire.

Danièle Bourassa
Université de Montréal

LETTERS

Paradise Lost

Sir:

As a student living in the ghetto this year, and a former resident of Gardner Hall (who'll never go back), I would like to share with you my impressions of residence life at l'Université de Montréal. I spent six weeks there early this past summer, and it was painfully obvious that they are firmly entrenched in the twentieth century, contrary to McGill.

We have been told that our residences lose on the order of \$200,000 a year. The solution proposed by the men who are supposed to be running the residences was apparently to try and shut them down, one by one. This was, of course, easier than trying to solve the problems there, and is analogous to the following philosophy: If you have a diseased finger, cut off your arm.

At the U de M, however, these gentlemen will be surprised to find three new residences, far more habitable than ours, and where room and board are entirely separate. Rooms go for \$11 a week, with maid service once weekly. One residence is

coed, one for men and one for women, plus a smaller, older dorm for men, if needed. The rooms are reasonably comfortable and attractive, with carpeted floors and a sink in each. Two colour TVs adorn the lounge on the ground floor, not far from an extensive canteen that dispenses everything from tomato juice to hamburgers. On each floor of the three 12-storey towers there is a lounge where students can come together, with a black and white TV on alternate floors. Of course, such things as a pool table, stereo room, and ping pong facilities are not wanting either.

Since our own residences are so dreadfully far behind, a large effort will have to be made to create an environment in which human beings can properly live. After all, no one will disagree with the fact that Gardner, Molson, and McConnell are architectural disasters. The first, most vital and obvious measure which should have been taken long ago is the separation of room and board. The long string of irrelevant objections to this proposal probably stem from the realization that food at BMH is so terrible that no one would

eat there if they weren't forced to. This is true. The "food" services would probably have to be drastically reduced, Robert Bray notwithstanding.

The second vital improvement has finally come to pass. Nevertheless, the fact that all four men's residences are now nominally coed will not deceive us into believing that paradise is a room in Gardner Hall. Nor will we be too sanguine about the virtual 100% occupancy rate this year, for unless the food improves (hal) or Robert Bray leaves (don't hold your breath) next year may bring some rude surprises. The residences are too sterile and cold to support life in an acceptable manner, and the hike up University St. four times a day doesn't help either. Perhaps some of the university's administrative officers should be asked to live in residence for a year, after which time they might be willing to do something about the food (that is, if their stomachs are still intact).

It is really quite incredible that we have not yet been able to achieve the separation of room and board. The idea of

having to journey up to BMH from the main campus every time the dinner bell strikes is ridiculous at best, (do not speak of box lunches please, for they are too horrible for words) and too time-consuming to maintain throughout the year, especially in winter. Yet this is what students must do, if they choose to live in residence.

This year, the Senate Subcommittee and the URC have been replaced by a new Senate Committee on Housing. One wonders how long this new animal will last. Hopefully, it will be more productive than its predecessors.

The changes discussed here will have to be adopted or expanded, and soon. It is the duty of a university to initiate, rather than follow changes in society. In this capacity, however, McGill has been seen to be sadly lacking. No university will maintain a position of eminence if it does not have, built into it, the capacity to move with the changing times. To foresee and accommodate new needs of the student body, boldly, and without confrontation, is the mark of a great institution.

Seymour Tash

A. 'Asi

Honorable commitments in the Persian Gulf

The British Tory government is having difficulties in deciding whether it should withdraw its forces from the Persian Gulf, as the former Labour government had announced. In mid-December, 1970, diplomatic sources in London indicated that the government had decided to withdraw "the major part" of its forces from the Gulf within the same deadline as set by the Labour government (end of 1971). The final decision concerning which groups will leave and which will remain was to be announced early in 1971.¹

However, after Heath's trip to Washington, there is again uncertainty about keeping to the Labour government's decision. The American government's conviction is "that a British-American presence there (in the Gulf) might be a stabilizing factor."

Whether such a withdrawal should take place or not has been the subject of much discussion in London and Washington over the past two years. In 1968, after the devaluation of the pound and because of other economic problems that Britain was facing at home, the Labour government announced that it would end its defence "commitments" and its "responsibilities" for the foreign affairs of Qatar, Bahrain and the seven Trucial States. It would withdraw its troops from the Gulf area by 1971. The British government spends over \$160 million annually to preserve its bases in the Mediterranean and the Middle East.² Such a withdrawal would save Britain an appreciable amount. Of course, one must remember that the money spent on military maintenance in the Gulf does not in any way compare with the vast oil profits exploited from the region by oil companies. But if these profits were assured without such expenditures, it would be more desirable for the British economy. The United States, however, does not agree with this policy. Shortly after the decision was announced by the Labour government, "Washington . . . sought an extension of the deadline for the withdrawal to 1975 or at least 1973".³ Americans have also voiced concern about the Soviet Union naval reinforcements in the Indian Ocean.⁴

With all these reservations, it seems very unlikely that the Tory government will reverse the Labour government's decision. The economic situation in Britain has deteriorated since 1968, the wave of workers' strikes does not seem likely to disappear in the near future, and the rise of national liberation struggles in the area makes it very difficult for Britain to remain there as a colonial power. As Humphrey Trvelyan, once a prominent

A. 'Asi is studying in the United States and has published several articles on the Middle East in American magazines.

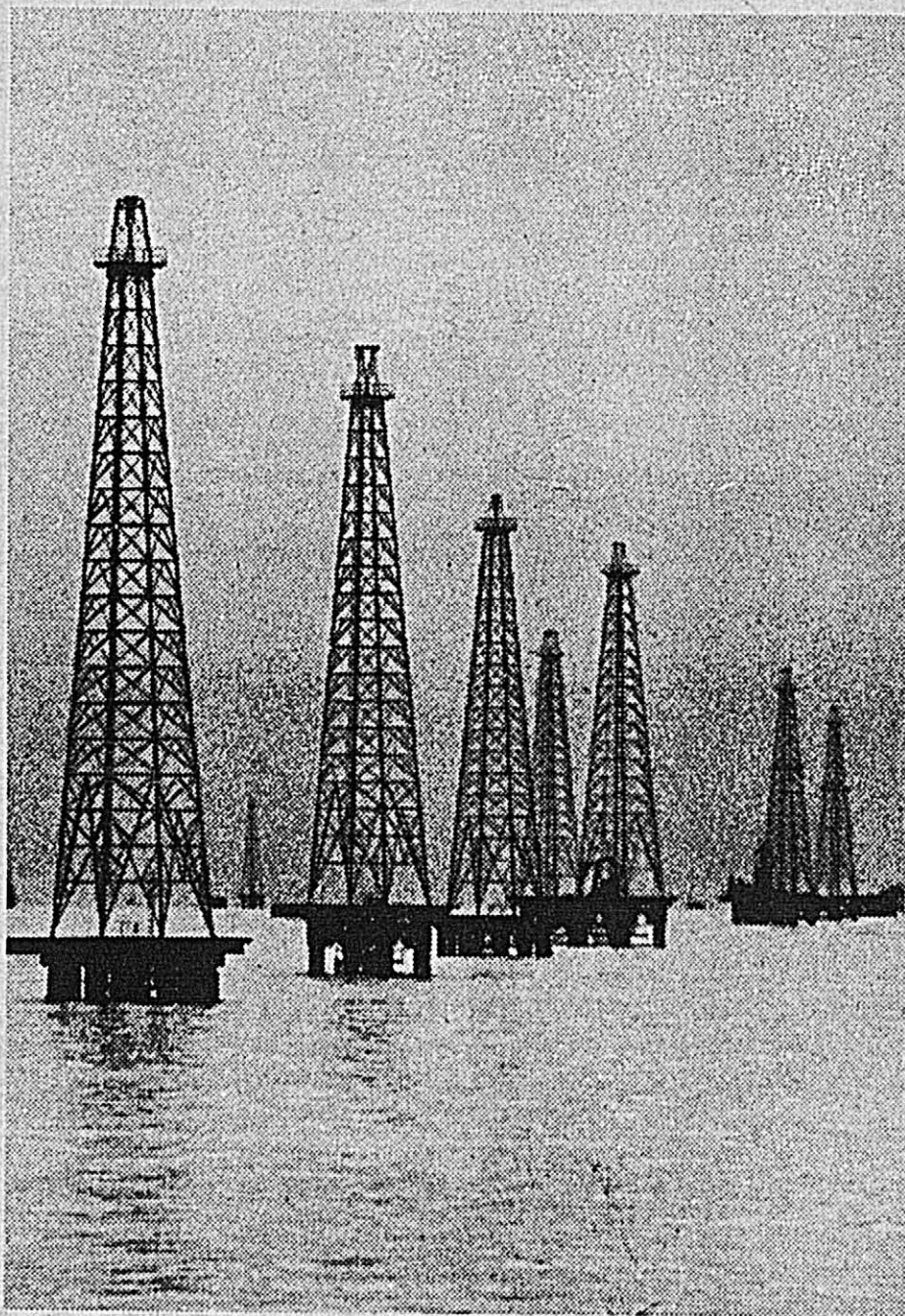


figure in the Foreign Office, said, "It is hardly to be contested that we cannot stay in the Gulf much longer and must, with due prudence and caution, finally surrender the last of our Middle Eastern pretensions . . . We must not base our policy on a sentimental recollection of our Asian past, but on a correct assessment of the balance of forces in the present."⁵

Thus the withdrawal plan must be seen within the context of the British neo-colonial policy along with an increasing American presence in the region. The withdrawal does not mean an unconditional surrender of British strategic positions in the Gulf. In the first place, it does not include the exceptionally important base on Masirah Island, off the Oman and Muscat coast, and other British bases in Oman and Muscat, such as the Salalah base. Secondly, the political presence would continue with British advisors in the posts now occupied by Political Agents in the seven Trucial Oman states. The official British state-

ment on the Gulf now carefully refers only to 'the military withdrawal'." According to the *London Times*, "There is a British businessman in the Gulf who claims that the only difference after the British forces will leave will be that you will not be able to get a good dance band any more."

British Colonial Rule in the Gulf:

The history of British influence in the Gulf dates back to the end of the eighteenth century. In 1763, the British East India Company established a residency at Bushehr port, on the Iranian side of the Gulf. This company concluded a number of agreements with the countries around the Gulf to conduct "commercial activities" in the area. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the company had to face competition from the French, the Dutch and the Turks. At this point, the British government decided to extend its own rule over the area to end such rivalries, and to become the predominant power in the

whole region. This was also important to Britain in safeguarding its routes to India.

To achieve such a goal, Britain concluded a number of treaties with the various rulers in the area. Such treaties were supposed to "suppress piracy and slave trade and to maintain peace and tranquillity in the waters of the Gulf".⁶ The hypocrisy of such statements is clear if one remembers that even today, in Oman and Muscat, slavery is legal and prevalent with the complete support of Britain. The Sultan himself has several hundred slaves.¹⁰ Moreover, to mention just the oil companies, several billion dollars worth of resources from the countries around the Gulf annually go to make up the profits of foreign oil companies. The pre-tax profits of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey from Iranian oil amount to nearly one-quarter of Iran's gross national product.¹¹ (Standard oil has only a 7% share, British Petroleum has a 40% share in these profits.) This, of course, is not called "piracy" since exploitation does not result from direct physical force, but rather as a result of chains of political and economic dependence of these countries on world capitalism. The physical force only comes in if the countries try to refuse to be exploited, as the experience of oil nationalization in Iran proved.

What is the significance of the Gulf today?

Today, the Gulf is the most crucial economic, as well as military, bases of world capitalism. Sixty per cent of the non-communist world's crude oil reserves are in the region. It supplies 50% of Britain's oil, about the same proportion for Europe, and over 80% of Japan's oil. It counts for over one-fourth of the world's annual oil production—one-third of the non-communist world's oil production.

The importance of this oil supply has recently increased, following Libya's conservation cutbacks.

Among the seven Trucial States, Abu Dhabi is the richest in oil. With a population of about 60,000, it has an annual oil income of about \$200 million which constitutes 98% of the government's revenue. It is now the fourth largest oil producer in the Middle East¹² and has a per capita income just behind that of the United States.

Dubai has comparatively little oil¹³, but it is the third largest gold exporter in the world.

Other Trucial States are small areas
Continued on page 5

with much less population¹⁴ and no developed oil fields so far.

Bahrain, the most populated of all, has much less oil.¹⁵ Only 65% of the government revenue comes from oil.

Qatar, with half the population of Bahrain, has more than three times as much oil income. This constitutes over 96% of government revenue.

Muscat and Oman, which formally includes the province of Dhofar as well, also has oil deposits.

The largest oil producing countries in the region are Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq and Iran.¹⁶ Iran alone supplies 25% of German oil. Half of its oil is shipped to Japan, and most of the balance goes to Western Europe. The "stability" of Iran under the Shah's dictatorship, "in a notoriously unstable part of the world",¹⁷ has directed large investments by the oil firms towards the Iranian oil industry. Khark Island oil export terminal, already the largest in the world, is about to be expanded. The Western Consortium¹⁸ that dominates Iran's oil industry is investing over \$40 million in the expansion construction.

In general, at the present time, the interests of the American oil monopolies exceed those of the British. The total American capital invested in the oil industries in the area is estimated about \$5 billion, while the British counterpart is a little over \$2 billion.¹⁹ The oil produced in the Gulf area does not have much importance for the home market of the United States, but it is utilized in Southeast Asia. Sixty five per cent of the fuel consumed by the U.S. forces in Vietnam is delivered from the Gulf. It also supplies the fuel for NATO forces in Europe.

An important aspect of the Gulf oil is that it is very cheap. A barrel of oil costs 6 cents in Kuwait, 9 cents in Saudi Arabia, while it costs 62 cents in Venezuela and \$1.51 in the U.S. This means huge profits for the oil companies, since the price of a barrel is based on that for the oil from the Gulf of Mexico, (i.e. the oil whose cost of production is highest), minus the cost of transportation from the oil field to the Gulf of Mexico. Over the period 1956-1960 the rate of profit in Iran was 71%, and in Saudi Arabia 61%.

It also saves hundreds of millions of dollars for Europe. On the other hand, the U.S. public loses about \$3.5 billion a year, since the American protectionist policy of oil depletion allowances does not allow the import of cheaper oil into the United States.

Another British economic interest in the area: the regimes around the Gulf have agreed to bank their revenues in London as sterling balances. This money is available in London for British domestic or foreign investments. Kuwait alone has over \$2.4 billion banked in London and could wipe out virtually the whole of Britain's reserves if she tried to cash in her account. Britain would, of course, block such an attempt.

Investments and marketing:

Another important feature of the Gulf region for world capitalism is its growing potential for importing capital as well as consumer goods. The high annual oil revenues have made the area "one of the world's best prospects for sales of capital and consumer goods of almost any sort . . ."²⁰ All the states are developing various schemes to attract more foreign investments. None of them has any income or profits tax, or obstacles to

repatriation of capital. In 1969, the imports of Abu Dhabi, Bahrain, Qatar, and Dubai were \$510 million. With a total population of 384,000, the figure is "impressive and a good indication of the excellent prospects for business in the area."²¹ Britain, at the present time, is leading the markets, ahead of the U.S., West Germany, and Japan — her main competitors. British exports to the lower Gulf states increased from \$42 million in 1964 to \$125 million in 1969. The majority of foreign banks, consultant and construction firms active in the area are British. Bahrain, because of its relatively low oil income, has been encouraging more investments in the industrial section, and Britain has "the lion's share"²² here. For example, the Bahrain Fishing Company is 40% owned by a British fishing company. According to *The Times* correspondent²³, "Our political *pied-a-terre* in the market, and the pro-British feeling and familiarity with the English language which go with it, give British salesmen a large incentive to visit the Gulf . . .". The United States and Japan, however, are increasingly threatening the British monopoly over the Gulf markets. The U.S. exports to the lower Gulf states almost doubled in the 1967-1968 period.

British and American interests in the Gulf area are not only economic. There are also military as well as political interests at stake if any basic social changes occur in the area. Edward Heath in April 1969, after his trip to the Gulf area, announced that "the long stability which the Gulf has enjoyed is now at risk". He called for an alliance of Britain, Saudi Arabia, and Iran to protect "one common aim — the maintenance of stability . . . the inhabitants of the Gulf want to follow the example of Kuwait, not of Aden."²⁴

Britain has four bases in Oman. These bases belong to Britain and will not be evacuated as part of the withdrawal plan. The two most important ones are in Salalah and on Masirah island. The base at Salalah is reputed to have underground chambers with nuclear weapons. Masirah is off the Omani coast. Local shepherds and fishermen have been completely removed from the island.

The United States has a large air-base at Dhahran in Saudi Arabia. British and U.S. military advisory groups serve with the Saudi Army. Britain also helped set up a \$300 million Saudi base at Khamis Mishayt in 1963-65.

The U.S. also has a naval force operating out of Bahrain. As Britain is forced to gradually leave the region, the United States is coming to the fore. Official sources in the U.S. have recently voiced concern about "the increasing naval activity of Soviet Union in the Indian Ocean". However, in a cold war atmosphere, this is only a cover for American military build-up in the area. As George Anderson, former Chief of Naval Operations, frankly admits, "What is needed is more ships out there (in the Gulf area) more frequently, to show the flag (sic), to make contact with the people — show a definite presence, power and interest on the part of the U.S."²⁵

The bases in the Gulf area are much more important to the U.S. and Britain, today, after the loss of the Libyan bases. They are also strategically important in suppressing any revolutionary movement which might develop in the area. They could become a "Taiwan of the Arabian Counter-revolution".

Any revolutionary development in the Gulf area not only upsets the "stability" of other Middle-Eastern states but will also affect the movements in the Indian sub-continent. In other words, the "stability" of the Gulf is of crucial value to imperialism for the "stability" of the entire "free and stable" part of south-Asia and Near East. With the war in Indo-China, and the explosive conditions in Palestine, the U.S. (and Britain) cannot afford to lose this strong foothold in between.

How to preserve "stability" of the Gulf?

Britain and the U.S. have been desperately trying to keep the Gulf area under their control in several ways ranging from physical presence of British forces in the area, to setting up the Union of the Gulf Emirates (UGE), and to transforming Iran and Saudi Arabia into "Big Powers" of the Gulf.

Until recently, there has also been a campaign of silence in the Western news media regarding the events in South Yemen and the growing national liberation movement in Dhofar and the Gulf Emirates.

In addition, "academic research" and other activities have been sponsored to study the Gulf. "The School of Oriental and African Studies, London, is the main British institution specializing in the third world. Over the period 1968-69 it held two conferences on the Gulf. One, during the 1968 summer holidays, was secret and was attended by military correspondents, academics and a former Governor of Aden; it was funded by the center for Strategic and International Studies, of Washington, D.C., and produced a report on the danger of a Russian invasion of the Gulf. The other was a public conference, in spring of 1969, and was funded by Shell and the Kuwait Oil Companies.²⁶

In the Gulf itself, Britain is going to stay, even if the withdrawal plan is approved and carried out. If Britain succeeds in forging the UGE, it plans to provide it with its own army. The purpose of this army was accurately described in *The Times* (London, 3/3/1969):

"The British departure from the Gulf will not affect Britain's obligations to the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, which are never very specifically identified by the government, but which exist nevertheless and will certainly continue to do so for as long as the RAF (Royal Air Force) needs the use of the island of Masirah for a staging post in the Indian Ocean. It could be that the British relationship with Muscat will neutralize the political impact of Britain's departure from Sharjah and Bahrain, because it would not be true to say that Britain was therefore putting the Gulf militarily behind her. This impression may be enhanced if the Gulf federation itself invites Britain to leave officers and men behind as supernumeraries to the armed forces of the federation. These are likely to be built up on the basis of the present Trucial Oman Scouts²⁷ and the individual defence forces of the Trucial States which are officered by the British . . . It certainly seems to be the case that the British hope to be able to achieve militarily after 1971 what they achieve now through the presence of 6,000 troops. Their proxies would be local forces commanded and equipped to British standards."

The relations between Britain and the Sultan of Muscat and Oman is only formally different from a British direct rule over the Sultanate. This was made apparent during the recent "British-backed" palace coup which "unlike recent Arab revolts, . . . has meant good news for the West."²⁸

"The chief stabilizing factor behind the new (Oman) Government is the British presence, still very visible and likely to remain so. The British played a key role in putting the new Sultan into power . . . Their support was decisive and they are everywhere now in evidence. The Minister of Defence is British as are most of the officers in the Sultan's (Qabus bin-Said) Army and all of those in his Air Force."²⁹

The army and the air force are also financed by Britain. In return, the British are "allowed" to keep and expand their four bases on Oman's territory.

The Union of the Gulf Emirates:

On the political front, Britain has been trying to forge a federation of Qatar, Bahrain, and the seven trucial states. Efforts began in February of 1968, but it is still no nearer to realization than it was over two years ago. The rulers of these states have been going to London regularly for "private negotiations", new investments and more arms. However, the last round of talks to form the UGE broke down last October in Abu Dhabi. Contradictions within the nine states have led to this deadlock. There are all kinds of petty rivalries and factionalism among the rulers. For example, Abu Dhabi, the largest of the Trucial States, wants to dominate the Union and keep out Bahrain, while Bahrain insists on proportional representation after four years of transition period with equal representation. Proportional representation would give Bahrain the dominant voice.

There is also enormous economic competition which has led to extraordinary duplication of heavy industry and civil construction work.

"Bahrain . . . talks of turning itself into the Lebanon of the Gulf . . . To this end it is enlarging its airport to accommodate Boeing 747's."³⁰

In a region that medical and educational services are virtually non-existent for the masses of people³¹, Dubai is wasting \$100 million of its oil revenues to build a new airport which will accommodate not only 747's but all of their passengers overnight.

"Not to be deterred, the ruler of Sharjah, just 10 minutes drive from Dubai, is investing more than \$2.5 million in his new port, certain to be a white elephant, according to observers."³²

Moreover, there are also many territorial disputes to be resolved before the UGE can be formed. After a recent visit by Sheikh Zayd of Abu Dhabi to Saudi Arabia, it became clear that Saudi Arabia has no intention of giving up her claim to the oasis of Buraimi which is also claimed by Abu Dhabi and Oman.

The difficulty in settling this claim between Iran, Sharjah, and Ras al-Khaymah, is not that the different sides have conflicting interests in controlling the Gulf. On the contrary, it arises exactly from one common goal — preserving the stability of the Gulf. The rise of national consciousness among the Arab masses of the lower Gulf states has made it very difficult for the rulers to agree to giving up any rights to these islands — "to surrendering Arab territory to non-Arab masters."³³ Iran is afraid of exactly the same forces, except that with its military power, it feels more confident of securing the islands and does not trust the capability of the local rulers in confining and suppressing the mass movements. The liberation struggle in Dhofar, the existence of People's Republic of South Yemen, and the developing national consciousness in the rest of the region are living threats to the established rulers of

Continued on page 6

as well as other states. Iran Air Lines now has flights to Bahrain, Abu Dhabi and Dubai. In September 1970, "over \$1 million worth of motor vehicles made in Iran (assembled in Iran) were exported to the Persian Gulf Emirates Even though the production does not yet meet the national demand, in order to keep the foreign markets, the program of expanding the export of motor vehicles will be continued as before."⁴⁴

Iran is also using the Iranian minorities in the Emirates to increase its influence over these states. Recent campaigns to whip up "Iranian nationalism" among these groups, along with extensive economic assistance are part of this program.

What are the "threats" to "stability" in the Gulf?

Looking through the American press, one finds a list of "subversive" elements threatening the peace in the Gulf region. This includes the Iraqi government, the Popular Front for Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG), "the Maoists of Southern Yemen", and the Palestinian guerrillas.

"No assessment of political stability on the Arab side of the Gulf can be made without reference to Iraq, which now constitutes the major focus of such revolutionary activities as exists In Bahrain the Rafidain Bank and the New Iraqi Trade Center are widely believed to be centers of Baathist (Arab Socialist) influence, if not outright intrigue and sedition"⁴⁷

Such an 'analysis' is, however, very misleading. It is true that the Iraqi government pays constant revolutionary lip service to the liberation struggles in the Gulf. But the scope of Iraq's support for the movement is limited to such verbal support. This was proved in the case of the Palestinian movement, which also enjoyed a completely verbal support of the Iraqi government, during the September (1970) events in Jordan. Iraq withdrew all its forces from the area.

In the case of the Gulf area, Iraq is more explicit in explaining her intentions. While it condemns the Iranian government for its plots to dominate the Gulf through "drowning the emirates with huge numbers of Iranians . . . encouraging trade relations with the emirates and giving special privileges to exports to the emirates . . . effecting the affairs of the emirates through Iranians holding influential jobs there . . . and helping the export of Iranian capital to the Gulf area", Iraq envisions and subscribes to very similar schemes in order to nullify Iran's "expansionist aims."⁴⁸

The rising of liberation struggles:

The real threat to American and British interests in the Gulf comes from the development of genuine mass movements against the traditional rulers who for centuries have been proxies of Britain in keeping the region backward and underdeveloped.

In particular, the growth of the Dhofar Liberation movement and its extension into the Gulf coast has raised much anxiety in London and Washington.

Dhofar is formally a province of Muscat and Oman. It has a population of about 250,000 with virtually no medical or educational services. The institution of slavery is legal and prevalent. The Sultan himself has several hundred slaves.⁴⁹ The population is predominantly shepherds, fishermen and farmers. Since the discovery of oil, however, some have taken jobs with the oil companies. This development has served to awaken large sections of the population.

In the 1950's the Omani Ibadhis, a purist Shi'a Muslim sect centred around the town of Nizwa and the Green Mountain, staged a series of uprisings. These were suppressed by British troops. Later, in the beginning of 1960's a group of Omanis studied the defeat of the 1950's and set up a new independent revolutionary organization, called the Liberation Front of Dhofar (LFD). The LFD was for-

med in 1964 and began its guerrilla activities in July 1965 by attacking the Salalah base. The original organizers of the LFD in 1964 were active members of the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM). The ANM was originally a Palestinian movement, formed in Lebanon in the early fifties. It expanded rapidly and many revolutionaries from all Arab countries joined the group. The ANM started as a pro-Nasserite group, later, however, it disintegrated into many factions of different tendencies.

Some of its most radical offsprings are the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the National Liberation Front of South Yemen (NLFSY), and the LFD.

The victory of the NLFSY in 1967 against the British rule and the establishment of the People's Republic of South Yemen have been of great encouragement and support to the LFD.

By the middle of 1970, the LFD has been in control of nine-tenths of Dhofar.⁵⁰ The LFD has been working for extensive social reforms in these areas. These include land reform, literacy, classes, and organizing women to fight against their traditional forms of oppression.⁵¹ In a country that women are treated like slaves, where they are not allowed to go outside their houses, or marry, or learn to read without their fathers' or husbands' permission, women in the liberated areas of Dhofar go unveiled. The marriage without the consent of the girl has been banned and there are women fighting in the People's Liberation Army.

According to the *Christian Science Monitor* (Dec. 3, 1970) "last year some sixty political assassinations took place, some of them women, an unprecedented event in the Arab world."

The LFD, in its September 1968 congress, resolved that organized revolutionary armed struggle is the only way to overcome imperialism and feudalism in the Gulf. They changed the name of the organization, from the LFD, to the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf (PFLOAG), and the activities of the Front were to be expanded throughout the Gulf area. Their struggle in Dhofar undoubtedly will catalyze the struggle in the Gulf as a whole.

In general, the PFLOAG "represents forces that have gone beyond the fixations with Egypt and its 'Arab Socialism' that dominated the Arab left since 1956."⁵²

Besides the struggle in Dhofar, there are hopeful developments in other areas around the Gulf. Contradictions among the different social classes in all these countries are growing to one extent or other. In Bahrain, in the face of severe repression, oil workers and dockers have long been organized and have staged a series of strikes.

In Iran, under one of the harshest police systems, there are still occasional uprisings, especially among students. However, significant organized activity is still absent. The intensive development of the industrial section has led to the growth of a significant working class as well as a larger middle class. The attempted reforms of the Shah, under the banner of "White Revolution", have brought to surface many contradictions within the social structure in Iran. All these have helped to raise the consciousness of some sectors of the society.

On the whole, the revolutionary forces in the Gulf area are gaining strength although slowly. For the masses of people in the area, it is irrelevant which country's ruler is going to be a more favorable proxy of imperialism. The issue is to change the Gulf from an "imperialist Gulf" to a "socialist Gulf".

Continued from page 5

the area, including those of Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. In the words of Ardeshtir Zahedi "Our interest is to deter any foolish ideas and maintain stability. It is important not only for us but others too that these waterways be secure These islands have been ours and are going to be ours There is no compromise. Look at the Chinese Communists in Aden. If these islands go, all of our interest will be damaged."⁵³

Saudi Arabia is using Iran's territorial threats and her military build-up along the Gulf coast to call for the defence of the "Arabism of the Gulf".

Both Saudi Arabia and Iran, however, are encouraged by the U.S. to form an alliance to keep the Gulf as "the lake of peace".

Iran as the dominant military power:

Iran, with its present heavy defence build-up, has become the strongest military power around the Gulf. It is the only local state with a substantial navy.

On November 5 and 6, the Naval Forces of Iran, under the personal command of the Shah aboard the Iranian destroyer *Artemis*, engaged in manoeuvres to demonstrate Iran's military power in the Gulf. They were preceded by a joint exercise with Britain and the U.S., Operation Midlink, near the strait's islands. "Tehran reports said observers then considered them a 'rehearsal' for future Iranian landings on the three islands"⁵⁷

The Iranian Army is estimated to exceed 200,000 men. The Air Force includes 30 Phantom jets, soon to be increased to 68. The Shah's intention is to boost this number to 140.⁵⁸ Iran is one of only four countries to fly the Phantom jets, the others being the United States, Britain and Israel. There are also 100 F-5's and 25 C-130's — all U.S. planes.

Notwithstanding internal problems of underdevelopment, the defence expenditure of Iran is an estimated one-third of the government budget. This has caused heavy strain on the country's foreign exchange, now down to \$45 million.⁴⁰

The defence budget is now \$779 million⁴¹ and an increase of 32.5% is planned for the coming year.⁴² According to the new budget plans, approved by the parliament on November 14th, the additional defence budget "is to be obtained from any sources — national or foreign — of which the government approves, and in form of aid, loan, or credit."⁴³

In practice, this has meant a channeling of more oil revenues to military use, at the expense of social and economic developments.

Of course the oil companies, realizing the importance of a stable Gulf for their profits, have been sympathetic to Iran in this respect. In a revised contract, the Consortium agreed to increase Iran's share from 50 to 56 percent. Meanwhile the price of crude oil was increased by 9 cents per barrel. From this 9 cents only 4.95 cents is Iran's share, the rest goes to the Consortium.

In addition to the military build-up, Iran is trying to dominate the Gulf states economically. Economic commissions have been set up to expand trade relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia,

1—*Ettela'at*, Air-mail edition, (Tehran daily) Dec. 17, 1970.

2—*The New York Times*, Dec. 18, 1970.

3—*Daily Mirror*, as quoted by *The Baghdad Observer*, Dec. 17, 1970.

4—*The New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1970. Washington seems to feel more "committed" to the defence of small and weak, but "free" countries than Britain.

5—*Ettela'at*, Air-mail edition, Dec. 19, 1970.

6—*The Baghdad Observer*, Dec. 17, 1970.

7—*The Daily Telegraph*, as quoted in *ibid*.

8—March 3rd, 1969 issue.

9—As quoted in *The Times* (London), Dec. 16, 1970.

10—*Monthly Review*, No. 58, Nov.-Dec. 1969.

11—*The Economist*, Oct. 31 - Nov. 6, 1970.

12—After Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.

13—About \$25 million annually. The population is about 60,000.

14—The latest available population figures are: Sharjah 31,500, Ajman 4,200, Umm al-Qaywan 3,700, and Fujairah 9,700.

15—Latest population figure is 205,000. Its annual oil income is about \$28 million.

16—These are also the most populace ones. The latest population figures are Saudi Arabia 4 million, Kuwait 700,000, Iraq 8 million, and Iran 30 million.

17—*The New York Times* 11/21/1970.

18—The Consortium is led by the British Petroleum Company with a 40% interest.

There are five American companies with 7% interest each. The Shell Oil Company (Dutch-British) has a 14% interest. Seven other companies, including Compagnie Francaise de Petroles, have smaller interests. Asides from the consortium, there are nineteen other, primarily American, companies which hold independent contracts with the Iranian National Oil Company.

19—*The Baghdad Observer*, 12/16/1970.

20—*The Times* (London), 12/16/1970.

21—*ibid*.

22—*ibid*.

23—*ibid*.

24—*The Sunday Times*, (London), April 27, 1969.

25—Quoted in *The Baghdad Observer*, 12/17/1970.

26—*The Black Dwarf*, March 23rd, 1970.

27—Headquartered in Sharjah.

28—*The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 3, 1970.

29—*ibid*.

30—*The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 9, 1970.

31—Bahrain is the only one with an established school system.

32—*The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 9, 1970.

33—Ardeshtir Zahedi is a curious figure in Iran's politics. He is the Shah's ex-son-in-law and the son of General Zahedi who overthrew Mosaddeq's popular government in a CIA-engineered coup in August 1953. CIA spent a total of \$19 million to overthrow Mosaddeq.

(*The Nation*, F. J. Cook, "The CIA", Vol. 192 (1961), p. 529). Ardeshtir Zahedi has been Iran's ambassador to London and Washington in the past.

34—*Ettela'at*, Air-mail Edition, Dec. 27, 1970.

35—*The Times* (London), 16/12/1970.

36—*The New York Times*, 18/11/1970.

37—*The Christian Science Monitor*, 28/11/1970.

38—*Ettela'at*, Air-mail edition, Nov. 7, 8, and 9 issues.

39—*The Economist*, October 31, 1970.

40—This figure should be contrasted with the contracted foreign debts of Iran which is about \$2 3/4 billion. Last year close to 25% of foreign exchange earnings of the country was paid for debt servicing (interest plus partial payment on previous loans.) This figure has been steadily rising over the past five years.

41—*The Times* (London), 12/16/1970.

42—The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute yearbook.

43—*Ettela'at*, 11/15/1970.

44—*Ettela'at*, November 8, 1970.

45—*Ettela'at*, November 18, 1970.

46—*Ettela'at*, November 15, 1970.

47—*The Christian Science Monitor*, 11/28/1970.

48—*Al-Thorah*, 12/21/1970.

49—*Monthly Review*, No. 58, No. -Dec. 1969, *Class Struggle in the Arab Gulf* by Fred Halliday. For much of the information on the Dhofar Liberation movement, I have depended on this article.

50—*New Left Review*, No. 63, Sept. -Oct. 1970, *Counter-Revolution in the Yemen*, by Fred Halliday.

51—*The Black Dwarf*, March 23, 1970.

52—*Monthly Review*, op.cit.

Reporting the "facts" at Sturgeon Falls

OTTAWA (CUP) In what is either a lack of understanding or a conscious policy of soft pedaling events, the English establishment press appears to have moved to discredit or downplay the struggle at Sturgeon Falls for an all French high school.

The mainly French-speaking community 20 miles west of North Bay, Ontario, was the scene last week of a school language dispute. The dispute, according to the English press is now on the way to settlement with the appointment of Trent University president Thomas Symons as a one-man commission to investigate and report.

Trouble began when French students and English-speaking sympathisers led by student Jean St. Louis (17) began boycotting the "bilingual" Sturgeon Falls secondary school on Wednesday September 8 in favor of a totally French school for the town's 87 per cent French majority. At the same time they suggested that a \$2.2 million addition to the school be made instead into a high school for the English students.

Sturgeon Falls dentist Dr. Roger Gervais, a supporter of the students, was quoted in a Canadian Press interview as saying what "bilingualism" means for the French in Sturgeon Falls.

"The English parents are having the nerve to tell us which

is the best way for our kids to achieve bilingualism," he said.

"For a lot of people, bilingualism means 'It's OK for you to think in French, but talk in English' ". Gervais is also a representative on the Nipissing Board of Education which has jurisdiction over the schools in the area.

However, in addition to these fairly straightforward details, the establishment press has added others in such a way as to raise questions about their total "objectivity" in the whole matter.

For example, on the day when the news of the first actions in Sturgeon Falls came out, the Ottawa Citizen reacted with a large front-page story entitled "Militant students at Sturgeon Falls harass teachers in language dispute". The story also bore a large picture of two girls entering the school and being "harassed" by "placard-carrying students". Given the generally unfavorable image of placard-carriers in most people's minds, this was not a particularly astute move if the Citizen wanted the fact of the cultural clash to come out. Most of the Citizen's later coverage has been confined to the back pages.

The Globe and Mail of Toronto on the same day ran the story of how 400 of the 1600 students in the school "braved" the same number of picketers and entered the school. The

Globe did not mention the source of the danger from the equal-sized opposing group of picketers.

Much subsequent English coverage emphasized the good relations that the English and French citizens of the town had before the dispute "erupted". A Canadian Press story quoted an unnamed "French Canadian businessman" who backed this up.

"We've always had real fine relations," he said. "It's a real shame."

Headlines also emphasized the raised fist symbol of the demonstrators. It was only in the middle of the CP story that the fist was identified as a symbol of power and non-violence. The story, which also served as the basis for news stories in the English papers went on to identify Gervais and teacher Edgar Gagne as the "two other highly vocal supporters" of the demonstrators, while showing their English opponents as quite reasonable and ready to talk. The story said the English case was "put most strongly" by Nipissing Ratepayers Association head Walter Cockburn who "sees the English-speaking children as a minority fighting against losing educational opportunities." The story neither disputed nor backed up Cockburn's claims.

"We're not against the idea of a French school but we demand equal educational opportunity for our children, and they won't get it if a French school is created," Cockburn was quoted as saying.

On the same day the Globe and Mail ran a feature, the second of two parts, whose theme seemed to be that French children in Ontario have never had it so good. Based almost totally on interviews with administrators and teachers the article was entitled "French-speaking schools have special atmosphere" and bore the small kicker "Students feel more relaxed, confident". The bulk of the article concerned Metro Toronto's only French-speaking high school, Ecole Secondaire Etienne Brulé, and relied heavily on remarks of the principal Lionel Remillard. A recently-hired French teacher at the school concluded the article with the remark that he was going to feel "right at home" there.

Exactly a week later the Globe reported that students at the school sent a telegram to Sturgeon Falls "in support of the attempts to get a French language school".

Wilson scholarships cancelled

The competition among university professors and graduate students for Woodrow Wilson Fellowships has been cancelled for the 1971-72 academic year due to a shortage of funds.

The money normally devoted to first-year graduate fellowships is needed to support the 213 Woodrow Wilson Fellows to whom grants have been awarded in past years.

A press release issued by the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Foundation of Princeton, N.J., blames "the economic recession and the recent wave of anti-academic sentiment" for the shortage.

Other fellowship programs are also being forced to reduce the number and size of grants awarded this year. The U.S. government, which in 1967 supported nearly 11,000 graduate fellowships, will provide only about 1,500 new fellowships in 1972-73. Programs supported by corporations and private foundations are being similarly curtailed.

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(As seen in August 7th Canadian Magazine)



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join the campaign against mediocrity

A lot of students think that McGill Students' Society is a waste of money. This year we're not going to give you any crap about how useful we are because the fact is that we haven't done much in the past. Now we want a chance to change all that in an important way.

For the past three months we've been giving serious thought to the kinds of activities that will bring the Society to the rank and file student. So we've already set aside close to 15,000 dollars of your money to get you involved. Right now we're making arrangements to have some important speakers come to the campus. Hannah Arendt (noted political philosopher) has already agreed to come. Robert Lemieux will also be speaking and there's a possibility that Saul Alinsky (poor peoples organizer) and William Buckley (eloquent *right wing* spokesman) will also agree to come. You can look forward to a number of changes in the Union. Nothing earth shattering. Mostly the kinds of things that will make the Union more than a crowded lunch room. Community and Environmental programmes have been around for some time. This year we're going to spend the kind of money that makes them worth getting into.

McGill Students' Society

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